

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00

MBFR-03 SAJ-01 OMB-01 ACDA-19 IO-13 H-03 NSC-10 SS-15

AEC-11 SCI-06 NASA-04 RSR-01 /160 W
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P R 121758Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6254

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

SECDEF WASHDC

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 09969

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, GW, US

SUBJECT: FRG PRESS REACTION TO SCHEEL VISIT TO
WASHINGTON

SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL'S SUDDENLY
ANNOUNCED VISIT TO WASHINGTON DOMINATED JULY 12 GERMAN
PRESS REPORTS AND EDITORIALS. THE SCHEEL TRIP WAS
LINKED BY GERMAN PAPERS TO US WISH TO CALM FRG CONCERNS
AND TO GERMAN DESIRE TO GET FULL FACTS ON US/SOVIET
ATOMIC PACT, AND AMERICAN THINKING ON MBFR AND THE
YEAR OF EUROPE. SEVERAL PAPERS REPORTED GERMAN
ACCEPTANCE OF US EXPLANATIONS OF NUCLEAR AGREEMENT. BUT
MANY EDITORIAL WRITERS EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER ULTIMATE
PROSPECTS FOR US DEFENSE GUARANTEES AND VOICED
SKEPTICISM OVER THE PROSPECTS FOR AND VALUE OF
FRANCO-GERMAN NUCLEAR COOPERATION. END SUMMARY.
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1. MOST GERMAN PRESS REPORTS OUTLINE THE SUDDENNESS OF SCHEEL'S "BLITZ VISIT" TO THE U.S. GUENTHER GILLESSEN, IN THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, SAID THE VISITS OF SCHEEL AND LEBER WERE REACTIONS TO THE "SHOCK FROM AMERICA". ACCORDING TO GILLESSEN, "THE ALLIES ARE RESORTING TO SOME TYPE OF SECRET DIPLOMACY TOWARD THEIR OWN PUBLIC - A REVEALING INDICATION OF HOW PROBLEMATIC THEIR RELATIONS HAVE BECOME." GILLESSEN SAYS THE "HIGHER AUTHORITIES HAVE AGAIN BECOME AWARE OF HOW DANGEROUS IT IS TO NEGLECT TRANSATLANTIC COHESION AND INTERALLIED CONSULTATION AND WHAT RISKS ARE INCURRED BY GOVERNMENTS BELIEVING THE EASIEST WAY TO SCORE FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESS IS THROUGH DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE SOVIET UNION BY WAY OF UNILATERAL ACTION." GILLESSEN CONCLUDES THAT THIS CHARGE CAN BE LEVELED AT BOTH WASHINGTON AND BONN.

2. THE BONN GENERAL ANZEIGER CITING "BONN GOVERNMENT QUARTERS," SAID WASHINGTON "IS TRYING TO ELIMINATE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE THE MISGIVINGS AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS RESULTING FROM THE US-SOVIET NUCLEAR PACT AND THE PENTAGON STUDY ON BALANCE OF FORCES, WHICH HAD GIVEN RISE TO THE IMPRESSION THAT THE US, IN LINE WITH MBFR, IS SEEKING A CHANGE IN WESTERN DEFENSE STRATEGY." NOTING THAT SCHEEL'S WASHINGTON ENTOURAGE INCLUDES BRUNNER, ROTH, AND EUROPEAN EXPERT GABLENZ, THE ANZEIGER REPORTS THAT THE WHOLE RANGE OF US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS WILL BE DISCUSSED BY SCHEEL IN ADDITION TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE ANZEIGER CONTINUES THAT, AS A RESULT OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S BRIEFING OF THE NATO COUNCIL, THE BONN GOVERNMENT'S CRITICAL VIEW OF THE US-SOVIET NUCLEAR AGREEMENT HAS GIVEN WAY TO THE FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT: (A) THE ATOMIC PACT DOES NOT SIGNIFY A CHANGE IN FLEXIBLE RESPONSE STRATEGY BUT IS RATHER AIMED AT PREVENTING WAR; (B) THE AGREEMENT WOULD BECOME INVALID AT THE VERY MOMENT OF A CONVENTIONAL ATTACK ON A NATO PARTNER; AND (C) THERE ARE NO INDICATIONS THAT THE US INTENDS TO WITHDRAW OR REDUCE ITS TACNUCS IN EUROPE.

3. DESPITE THE ABOVE ASSESSMENT, WHICH IS SHARED BY UNCLASSIFIED

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OTHER GERMAN PAPERS, THE ANZEIGER EMPHASIZES BONN'S WISH FOR MORE INFORMATION FROM WASHINGTON REGARDING THE ATOMIC PACT'S POSSIBLE EFFECT ON DETERRENCE; THE PAPER CONTENTS THAT " THE RISKS INVOLVED IN A SOVIET ATTACK HAVE BECOME MORE CALCULABLE SINCE MOSCOW NOW CAN COUNT ON CONSULTATIONS BEFORE THE US WOULD RESORT TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS." AND THE ANZEIGER AGAIN CITES BONN SOURCES TO THE EFFECT THAT A EUROPEAN DEFENSE

ORGANIZATION WITH A FRANCO-BRITISH NUCLEAR FORCE IS
CONSIDERED NONREALISTIC AT NATO AS WELL AS IN BONN
BECAUSE THERE IS NO EUROPEAN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP BODY.
(THIS POINT IS MADE IN SEVERAL PAPERS.) IN THESE
CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ANZEIGER SAYS SCHEEL WILL SEEK OUT
US VIEWS ON NEXT STEPS FOR THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE,
US THINKING ON MBFR AND WILL EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE
OF MORE EFFECTIVE ALLIED CONSULTATIONS.

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4. THE PRO CDU BONNER RUNDSCHAU OBSERVES THAT SCHEEL
WANTS TO INFORM HIMSELF ON THE SPOT ABOUT "WHAT HAS BEEN
AGREED UPON BY NIXON AND BREZHNEV IN THE NUCLEAR ACCORD
AND CONCERNING MBFR, AS BOTH AGREEMENTS HAVE FAR-
RANGING CONSEQUENCES FOR THE SECURITY OF THE FRG AND
WESTERN EUROPE." THE IMMEDIATE QUESTION POSED BY THE

RUNDSCHAU IS "WHETHER THE US TROOP PRESENCE IN EUROPE WILL CONTINUE, AND IF SO, HOW LONG, AND IN WHAT STRENGTH." THE PAPER SAYS THE "EROSION OF THE DOLLAR HAS LENT THIS QUESTION AN ADDITIONAL EXPLOSIVE EFFECT AND HAS ENCOURAGED THE AMERICAN ADVOCATES OF AN EARLY TROOP WITHDRAWAL." THE RUNDSCHAU QUOTES SCHEEL AS HAVING RECENTLY VOICED MISGIVINGS ABOUT POSSIBLE FRANCO-GERMAN NUCLEAR COOPERATION AS SCHEEL BELIEVES "THIS WOULD INCREASE THE DANGER OF AMERICAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS." THE RUNDSCHAU SAYS THIS PROSPECT ALSO UNCLASSIFIED

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IS WORRISOME TO SCHEEL AS IT "MIGHT GIVE A FRESH IMPETUS TO THOSE FORCES IN THE FRG WHICH SEEK A LOOSENING OF THE FRG ROLE IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE." THE PAPER FINALLY NOTES THAT SCHEEL'S VISIT WILL ALSO BE OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL VALUE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER. MANY OF THE ABOVE POINTS ALSO WERE MADE BY THE WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE OF ESSEN.

5. WOLFRAM VON RAVEN, IN DIE WELT, WRITES THAT THE PENTAGON STUDY AND THE US DPC PRESENTATION "REFLECT THE IDEAS OF A SCHOOL WHICH CLAIMS EUROPEANS CAN BE DEFENDED BY CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS FOR THREE MONTHS." RAVEN SAYS THIS THINKING ALSO PROVIDES THE GUIDELINE FOR INTERPRETING THE ATOMIC ACCORD, THUS STIMULATING THE EUROPEANS TO FEEL THAT THEY WILL BE DECOUPLED FROM THE US NUCLEAR GUARANTEE. RAVEN CONTINUES: "SINCE WASHINGTON FAILED TO CONSULT WITH THE ALLIES IN ADVANCE, IT NOW HAS TO POUR OIL ON THE TROUBLED WATERS. LACKING ANOTHER ALTERNATIVE, THE ALLIANCE MUST CONTENT ITSELF WITH AMERICAN ASSURANCES. BUT THE US-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP NEEDS INTERNAL CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES MORE THAN EVER."

6. FINALLY, IN A FRONT PAGE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE COMMENTARY ENTITLED "THE CONTRADICTION IN SECURITY POLICY", WELL-KNOWN POLITICAL COMMENTATOR ADELBERT WEINSTEIN ARGUES THAT ALLIED MISGIVINGS PERSIST EVEN AFTER THE SAN CLEMENTE BRIEFING. FOR WEINSTEIN, THE QUESTION IS "WHETHER THE US, AFTER IT HAS LOST THE NUCLEAR MONOPOLY, IS STILL ABLE TO GUARANTEE PROTECTION OF ITS NON-NUCLEAR ALLIES." WEINSTEIN AVERS THAT THE FLEXIBLE RESPONSE CONCEPT EVOLVED EARLIER BY THE US IS "UNREALISTIC DUE TO THE DISPARATE QUALITIES OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL POTENTIALS, WHOSE VARIANT STRATEGIES CANNOT BE RECONCILED." WEINSTEIN REPORTS THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD EMPHASIZED THE INDIVISIBILITY OF TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY AND HAD SAID THE US-SOVIET NUCLEAR PACT IS MAINLY

DESIGNED TO GET EACH SIDE TO MODERATE ITS FOREIGN POLICY.
BUT WEINSTEIN CONCLUDES THAT "WHAT REMAINS FOR US IS THE
HOPE THAT IN ANOTHER TEN YEARS, WE WILL BE ABLE TO
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SNEAK INTO THE NUCLEAR FUTURE WITHOUT SUSTAINING
DAMAGE." WEINSTEIN ADDS: "SCHLESINGER IS AS
OBSTINATE AN ADVOCATE OF NUCLEAR DISENGAGEMENT AS WAS
MCNAMARA...HENCE, IT WILL PROVE DIFFICULT TO RETAIN THE
US NUCLEAR UMBRELLA, ALL ASSURANCES OF THE PRESENT US
ADMINISTRATION NOTWITHSTANDING, AND IN CONTRAST TO THE
SITUATION A DECADE AGO, THE INCLINATION IN THE US TO
DISMANTLE OVERSEAS COMMITMENTS HAS MOUNTED."
HILLENBRAND

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